RRR
ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT
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We Make The Big Time!

by Murray N. Rothbard

RRR has been honored by being the focus of a great column, syndicated in 200 papers throughout the country, by Pat Buchanan ("Crackup of the Conservatives," May 1). Buchanan's noteworthy column focuses on the thorough, blockbuster article in the March *RRR* by Professor Paul Gottfried, "Scrambling for Funds." For the first time ever, Gottfried details the sinister takeover of the conservative movement by the neocons, not by using persuasion and argumentation, but by seizing control of the enormously wealthy "four sister" foundations: Olin, Bradley, Scaife [Mellon], and Smith-Richardson [Vicks], and then by channeling those foundation funds to neocons and their institutions. This process is particularly ironic and tragic in the case of Olin and Bradley, whose founders were wonderful Old Rightists, libertarians and isolationists. Mr. Olin and Mr. Bradley would never have countenanced the capture of their wealth by partisans of the welfare state, social democracy, trade unionism, and globaloney. As Pat Buchanan sums it up, the "four sisters, [Gottfried] argues, have been co-opted by neocons the same way liberals co-opted the great foundation of Henry Ford."

Pat then asks: now that "a tiny handful of neocons control the money spigot of the American Right," who are they, and what do they want? Johnson-Humphrey liberals, they want; the welfare state and Big Government; the anti-private property tyranny of "civil rights"; and foreign aid, "especially for Israel." In short, instead of calling for a rollback of the monstrous New Deal and the Leviathan State, they want still more of the same. And they also "want to use America's wealth to promote 'global democracy' abroad and impose 'democratic values' in our public schools." Neocon heroes, Pat underlines, are "Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, globalists and architects of the mammoth modern state."

A tiny handful of neocons control the money spigot of the American Right.

And what do they hate? Above all, they hate the Old Right, the proud and eternal enemy of Wilson and F.D.R., and they are especially hostile to the Old Right's foreign policy of America First. And the neocons brought to that hatred, as Pat points out, the vicious smear tactics, all the "nastiness of the far Left"—specifically, of the Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist movement from which they were spawned. Since the neocons

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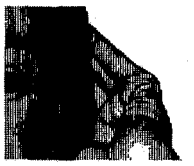

THE EAR

By Sarah Barton

O how the mighty have fallen! Just got news that Steve Fielder, the humorless, lowering, sneering, walrus-mustachioed character who looked and acted like a villain in an 1890's melodrama; Steve Fieldler, once head of the minuscule but mighty West Virginia Libertarian Party, who parlayed that post into becoming the most popular and influential leader of the National L.P.; Steve Fielder, whose very word once made LP politicos quake and tremble; Steve Fielder, attorney; once head of Ballot Access; Steve Fielder, none other, has just been forced out of his top position of Treasurer of the L.P. Under pressure for not preparing financial reports, admitting his inactivity, Fielder is now out of national office for the first time in God knows how long. One by one, all too slowly but surely enough, the Top Dogs of the Libertarian Party are Getting Theirs. Exactly as predicted in

(Cont. next page,col. 1)

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(THE EAR cont. from P.1)
this publication.

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Sheldon Richman of Cato charges that our "strategy for establishing paleolibertarianism appears to consist in smearing all other libertarians and their activities." No, Shelly, baby, you've got it backwards. One of the main *reasons* we broke with the libertarian movement and founded paleolibertarianism is that we can't stand most—"Modal"—libertarians and their activities. Got it?

******

Charles Estes, one of the Original Libertarians from the old days of the movement, wrote Lew Rockwell the other day, bitterly attacking both his paleoism and his admiration for Pat Buchanan. Chuck concluded with this hair-raiser: "the right-wing, moralistic posture you are taking has no place in a free society." Oh? And do you propose to *outlaw* that posture, Chuck? Is it any wonder that the most common phrase in our shop, as each new horror pours in, is "I hate Modal Libertarians"?

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A libertarian bookstore in San Francisco keeps the really hot stuff in the back room. No, not the magazines with the 8-year-old boy centerfolds; *they're out front.* The back room is used for books and memorabilia of a certain defunct political movement. *Achtung!*

I *do* read *RRR* standing up at the mailbox.

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In his essay in the blockbuster May issue, *Chronicles* editor Tom Fleming says Ed Crane hates *RRR* folks because we "think marriage between a man and a woman is preferable to marriage between a man and a man, or a man and a sheep."

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Speaking of Ed, he's claiming that we send out thousands of free copies of this publication. Wrong, lambie pie. 24 people are comped; every other single person pays full price. That doesn't include the many illegal copies made by left-libertarians, of course, but those are *your* people, Eddie.

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At a recent meeting of the neocon dominated Philadelphia Society, Doug Bandow gave the LAPD-Rodney King treatment to Midge Decter in a debate on interventionism. In what was supposed to be a 100% imperialist audience, Doug got a very respectable 37% in the straw poll, despite a boycott by CSE finkettes.

******

"Most advertising is hype, but yours is absolutely on the mark," writes Justin Raimondo, editor of the *The Libertarian Republican.* "I *do* read *RRR* standing up at the mailbox.

"At a time when libertarians need to wake up and smell the coffee, *RRR* is the perfect antidote to the sleepy passivity of a movement hopelessly mired in the Sixties. Trenchant, witty, and informative, *RRR* is cause for celebration and hope."

******

"Scrappy paleo-libertarian newsletter analyzes issues most media don't even touch. Good-looking, too . . .," writes bestselling Christian author Mary Pride. "No comfort here to military hawks, greenies, believers in collective guilt, or libertines. Always fascinating reading."

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Thanks to Pat Buchanan, leader of the real conservatives, for mentioning the *RRR* in his column on Paul Gottfried's hot article, and for his column on the "conservative crack-up," which quoted the first R. Thanks also to Jim Grant of the extraordinary *Grant's Interest Rate Observer*, for his front-page mention of the *RRR* and quote from Joe Sobran.

*****

Neocon coup at the *Washington Times!* Arnaud de Borchgrave, long-time editor, has been fired. The new editor is Wesley Pruden. Arnaud was only a partial neocon tool; Wes is 100% in their pocket.

The new editor of the *WT*'s editorial page is Todd Lindberg. Todd, John Podhoretz's college roommate, had been editor of *WT*'s *Insight* magazine. Podhoretz, son of Norm and Midge, moves to *Insight* from the *Times*' Life Section.

Note: Todd has zero newspaper experience, but he is a trusty, and that's all that counts. ●

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(Big Time...cont. from P.1)

were for their own sectarian reasons opposed to the Stalinists and the New Left, the conservatives, as Buchanan notes, "brought these ideological vagrants in off the street and gave them a warm place at the fire." The neocons characteristically repaid that hospitality, not with gratitude, but by using their Leninist cadre training to take over the funding, and therefore the control, of the unsuspecting, and up till recently unheeding, American Right. For there has always been a fundamental innocence, a lovable trusting quality, in American conservatives, which the neocons saw and were able to exploit.

It is particularly exhilarating that Pat's column has not only spread far and wide Paul Gottfried's expose of the neocons in *RRR*. He has also taken the occasion to sound a mighty trumpet call, a veritable call to arms against the neocons, an exhortation to take back the movement for genuine conservatism. The time for that uprising is at hand since the old "unifying issue of anti-communism has been fading." Pat concludes his column with these stirring words: "the time to split the blanket has probably arrived. Before true conservatives can ever take back the country, they are first going to have to take back their movement." Exactly. Let the housecleaning begin. •

Long Live The Queen!

by Joseph Sobran

American interest in the British royal family, judging by the tabloids, is exceeded only by that of the English, who have even more tabloids than we do. As I write, Queen Elizabeth, who has just turned 65, is about to arrive on our shores for a visit, one purpose of which is to reaffirm the "special relationship" between England, alias Great Britain, and the United States. The durability of the alliance has been proven again by the fact that the English have managed to draw us into yet another war.

George Bush, lest we forget, said right after Iraq grabbed Kuwait that he had no intention of "intervening." (The word gives the lie to the hawks' later insistence that Saddam Hussein had "started the war," meaning the war with the U.S. in which he barely fired back.) Bush only became belligerent a few days later, after a confab with Margaret Thatcher.

The royal family pretty much avoided involvement in the war. In fact one of the English newspapers chided Prince Philip for going grouse-hunting as English boys were going off to war. Even now it remains one of the duties of royal personages to pretend to take public affairs seriously. The Queen herself may be only a symbol, as they say, but at times the politicians find her a very useful symbol. Precisely because she seems "above" politics, she can bestow a seemingly transcendent blessing on certain political causes—such

UNCONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

Democrats: The Early Line

PLAYERS		*RRR* Wisdom
Sen. George McGovern	↔	Well, what would *you* do if your motel went bankrupt?
Sen. Paul Tsongas	↔	True, another Greek liberal from Mass. But post-cancer, favors capital punishment and tax cuts.
Mario Cuomo	↓	What: *another* northeastern liberal governor in budget crisis?
Rep. Richard Gephardt	↓	Not until he gets himself some eyebrows.
Jesse Jackson	↓	Getting stale, Operation PUSH in deep doo-doo, outshined by Gov. Wilder.
Gov. Doug Wilder	↑	Smarter, less threatening than Jesse. Could get Veep spot.
Sen. Al Gore	↔	Darling of the left neocons, but let's face it, another loser.
Sen. Bill Bradley	↓	And out. Ed Crane's favorite Democrat knocked out in 1988.
John Silber	↓	"Qualified" by loss for Mass. Governor. Come on, give us a break.
Rep. Steve Solarz	↓	Threatens to run if Gore doesn't. In trouble in Brooklyn, so why not go for it all?
None of the Above	↑	In this group of retreads and losers, looking better all the time.

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as this war.

Maybe I'm sentimental about her, but I never blame the Queen herself for anything. I always assume she's being used. She and Prince Charles have set a fine example of royal dignity, especially by contrast with the rest of the clan, who seem to illustrate the way living on welfare tends to break up the family. (By the way, whatever happened to Koo Stark?)

Even some conservative Englishmen want to abolish the monarchy, but of course it has already been abolished in its essence. There was a time when kings and queens had real, honest-to-God, off-with-his-head power; the power to levy taxes and start wars, for example. That's why Cromwell thought it vital to behead Charles I. Nobody has yet proposed sending Queen Elizabeth to the block, to my knowledge. Why bother?

It's all to the good that the monarchy has been stripped off its former powers, but those powers themselves haven't been abolished, merely transferred to Parliament. The ideal arrangement would have been to insure that *no* institution ever exercised such powers again. The monarchy should simply have been privatized. If I were an Englishman, I guess I'd be an anarcho-monarchist.

In the early days of the Republic, Americans prided themselves on a system that was, in their minds, the very opposite of the British. Now the two systems are fairly close to convergence. Each is ruled by a parliament with almost unlimited powers, the chief difference being that the presidency is more royalist than the monarchy. Maybe another important difference is that it's still feasible to defeat an incumbent member of Parliament; if this impression is correct, Britain is at least more truly democratic, if you like that sort of thing, than the U.S.

The original understanding here, once independence had been achieved, was that the people were sovereign and that the federal government had only a few powers, explicitly delegated by the people in the Constitution. The Ninth and Tenth Amendments together sum up the principle of the system; the rights of the people aren't limited to those listed in the Constitution, but the powers of the federal government are.

The vital principle of the Constitution is nearly as defunct as the power of the British crown.

This meant that if the federal government wanted any more powers, it would have to get a constitutional amendment specifying them. And the post-Civil War amendments did observe this form. Each of the three ends with the declaration that "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." Those amendments were ratified by pretty roughshod methods, and even today the validity of the Fourteenth is seriously questioned. Even so, Americans at that time still honored the principle that the powers of the federal government—particularly Congress—could only be increased by express delegation in the Constitution itself. The criminal lengths the North took to force the South to ratify the Fourteenth shows how seriously everyone still took the requirement of an amendment.

But today—why bother? The vital principle of the Constitution is nearly as defunct as the power of the British crown. We observe the Constitution's anniversaries, as the English mark the Queen's birthday, but that's as far as it goes. For the most part, Congress assumes any powers it likes. Nobody asks where the Constitution confers on it the power to do this or that. It just takes it, under the rubric of "democracy."

Under these circumstances, every election amounts to an unlimited delegation of power to whoever wins. The British Parliament, notoriously, is bound by no Constitution or Bill of Rights; sheer majority rule prevails. The same is true of our "federal" government, by and large. A few provisions of the Bill of Rights are still sacrosanct, but this only means that the government may do anything it isn't expressly forbidden to do. Even this slight qualification is called in question by the patently unconstitutional Brady Bill, passed in flat defiance of the Second Amendment.

The two-party system here has become a cozy symbiosis, designed for incumbents of both parties, so that if our elections are not exactly rigged, they might as

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well be. The people aren't really delegating unlimited power; the politicians are simply taking it. I'm thinking of congressional elections here, of course; presidential elections are still somewhat indeterminate, which is why they may be stolen.

And the Supreme Court? Despite conservative complaints against its "activism" it has rarely, since the early days of the New Deal, impeded the growth of federal power. It typically strikes down state laws for alleged violations of the Bill of Rights; it almost never strikes down federal laws under the Ninth and Tenth Amendments. So, far from "checking" Congress, the Court has been a silent partner in Congress's self-aggrandizement.

Americans are constitutional illiterates. Not one in a hundred has a clear idea of how the Republic was originally organized, with a strong presumption against the federal government; so not one in a hundred realizes that the system has been so badly perverted that it's hardly the same system anymore. And yet that doesn't prevent Americans from being the most politically self-congratulatory people in the world, sure that their "democracy" has an unbroken lineage back to 1776, when we declared our independence from those reactionary British!

So whence this American affection for the British crown we snapped our fingers at two centuries ago? I can only guess, using my own sentiments as my gauge, but I think the Queen stands for dignity, pageantry, tradition, and best of all, patriotism without politics. If we could render our own politicians as powerless as she is, we might find them equally lovable. ●

The Kennedy "Rape" Case

by M.N.R.

Once again, various griches have interfered in our quiet enjoyment—this time in the delicious scandal of yet another case involving the Kennedy family, a Kennedy compound, 4 A.M. parties with assorted females, and an alleged rape to substitute for a non-alleged drowning. But now we aren't allowed to enjoy anything free of the external imposition of several Moral Problems.

Rape is sex plus violence; why is it difficult to get this point across?

Problem One: Was it or was it not evil and unconscionable for NBC and the *New York Times* to follow the lead of the tabloid *Globe*, and reveal the Name of the alleged rape victim? [P.S., It's PATTY BALDWIN, dammit, and so there!] The almost universal consensus of all pundits and right-thinkers, including all sides on *Crossfire*, is Yes, it was evil. Sorry, folks, I don't see it. The prime business of the media is to report the news, to report what will be to the interest of the readers or viewers. Was the public interested? Hell, yes. And the silly polls in which the vast majority of the American masses denounced NBC and the *New York Times* is a lot of malarkey. It was merely the public registering their Official rather than their *real* Selves to the griches and pests who constitute the pollsters.

Suppose that a girl were murdered, or simply and non-sexually mugged and robbed on the Kennedy compound. Would it have been immoral for the media to reveal the name of the victim then? Why? In a sense, *anything* the media reports "invades the privacy" of those whose activities constitute news. Are we to ban all reporting whatever except public relations handouts?

But that is indeed the logic of the absurd view that the media must get the rape victim's *agreement* to publish her name. For that means that everyone in all walks of life would have a veto power on his or her name ever being mentioned.

The now-fashionable feminist view holds that rape is *only* a crime of violence, equivalent to mugging, that sex is not involved, and therefore rape should be treated like any other crime. Since no one (I hope) advocates withholding the names of all victims whatever from the public, then feminists should consistently favor revealing an alleged rape victim's name. Yet, curiously, only the egregious Alan Dershowitz (and, to give her credit, Karen DeCrow) takes the consistent feminist line on the Palm Beach rape case. Most feminists hold that since a "stigma" unfortunately continues to attach itself to a rape victim, that the name should not be disclosed. In that way, the feminists can have it both ways: protect the alleged rapee, and keep on yammering about rape having nothing to with sex.

In my view, the feminist

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position is balderdash. Violence is of course an inherent aspect of rape; that's why it's a *crime*. But *also* inherently connected with rape is a sex act, which is what distinguishes rape from assault, mugging, etc. Rape is sex plus violence; why is it difficult to get this point across?

There is another point here. The alleged Palm Beach rape was not simply private, and its reportage was not the result of intrepid investigative reporting into private affairs. The rape became public as soon as PATTY BALDWIN reported it to the police and charged William Kennedy Smith with the crime. The public is surely entitled to know about all public charges and actions, including this one.

Moreover, the name of the accused raper, William Kennedy Smith, has been plastered all over the media, to the jeers and ridicule of a large section of the American population. If PATTY BALDWIN's good name must be protected at all costs, why is it OK to publicize and jeer at William Kennedy Smith? Even if there is a stigma attached to the rapee, surely there is far more of a stigma attached to the alleged raper. So are we supposed to withhold *his* name too? Will we be left with this sort of bowdlerized "reporting"?

A young woman was allegedly raped last night at the compound of a famous political family in Palm Beach. The famous uncle of the alleged raper was named as chasing a girl at 4:00 A.M. clad only in T-shirt (or blue oxford-cloth shirt, as the case may be)...

To his credit, Pat Buchanan was the only person I have heard worrying about the news damage to the Kennedy family, and he is not exactly a long-time Kennedy admirer. Pat, too, denounced revealing the name of PATTY BALDWIN on the charming, old-fashioned ground that rape, precisely because sex is involved, carries a public shame with it for the victim.

But I don't think this gentlemanly consideration outweighs the media' obligation to report the news, and the public's right to know public events.

Problem Two. Rape is coercion and therefore a crime, and therefore it was unconscionable for the *New York Times* to reveal the rather sordid past and present of PATTY BALDWIN, her kid out of wedlock, her inveterate bar-hopping, etc.

Apart from the fact that these sordid details are intrinsically interesting in themselves, *are they really* irrelevant to the fact that rape is coercion? It is true, very true, that rape is coercion, and that rape is a crime, *regardless* of the sexual or virtuous status of the victim, that is, whether she is a nun, a monogamous wife and mother, a swinging single, or a hooker. But the virtuo-status of the rape victim is relevant to two important considerations: (1) the credibility of the victim as witness, and (2) the degree of punishment to be levied upon the criminal.

By its very nature, rape—*in contrast* to mugging or simple assault—almost always takes place without witnesses. If PATTY BALDWIN charges that Willie Kennedy Smith raped her, are we to believe her? Remember that criminal convictions can only take place if the charge is proven beyond a reasonable doubt, and hence the credibility of the victim must be vital to reaching a verdict. Take two hypothetical cases: A: a virtuous nun or married lady charges Willie Kennedy Smith with rape; or B: a bar-hopping party girl, picked up at 3:00 A.M., agrees to go on for drinks and other frisky activities to the Kennedy compound, and then, after some cuddling, charges rape. Isn't it reasonable to conclude that Female A's charge is more credible than Female B's? Especially, if I might revert to PATTY BALDWIN, when the girl seems to have made off with a valuable Kennedy urn at the same time as the supposed rape?

A separate and also relevant point occurs when the judge or jury is handing down punishment for a crime. Punishment differs in proportion to the severity of the crime, and most of us agree that someone clubbing a victim and making off with his gold watch deserves a more severe punishment than a kid stealing a grape from a fruitstore. Is it then unreasonable to assert that coercion taking place *after* lots of drinks, a 4:00 A.M. return for drinks and hi-jinks at the fellow's home, *and* consensual cuddling is less reprehensible than attacking and raping a stranger on the street? Note that I am not saying that "leading the guy on" justifies or exculpates later coercion and rape; but it should mitigate the severity of the crime and the ensuing punishment. Which is why most people have the sound instinct that "date rape," while reprehensible and indeed criminal, does not reach the deeply reviled status of "stranger rape."

So perhaps momma's caution about visiting guys in their homes late at night had something to say for it after all?! ●

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The Kennedy Case: What Kind Of Republican?

by M.N.R.

That egregious sleaze-bag, Teddy Kennedy, the last shred of "camelot," is, according to the pundits, at long last politically vulnerable. All libertarians, one would think, regardless of other differences, would be united in wanting to bring Teddy down, to get him out of Washington. But what *kind* of Republican would do best against him? We can easily assume, without fear of contradiction, that there is no heroic, full-fledged, politically viable libertarian available to run against Teddy in Massachusetts. Failing that, there are two contrasting paths available for those libertarians who wish to work inside the Republican Party. One route: to go for "socially tolerant" Republicans, heedless of their positions on foreign policy; in short, to go for Rockefeller Republicans. This is the counsel of Eric Rittberg and his Republican Liberty Caucus (RLC), who holds up moderate, high-tax, but indeed "socially tolerant" California Governor Pete Wilson as the very model of a "Liberty Republican." In contrast is Justin Raimondo and his Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee (LROC), who, stressing an isolationist, anti-war foreign policy, counsels libertarians to go rightward to support such paleo-conservatives as Pat Buchanan.

Well, here's a practical test, which doesn't even involve foreign policy. Teddy is bad on every conceivable issue. But what issue would get anti-Kennedy juices flowing among his hitherto loyal, largely Irish Catholic constituency? Griping about capital gains taxes? Or focusing on the latest example of Teddy's disgusting antics? Anyone who is honest would have to say the latter. But how could a "socially tolerant" Republican hammer away at Teddy's ethical and moral failings? How could he do so without abandoning his much-vaunted "social tolerance," the major point of the RLC position? On what grounds could he denounce Teddy's actions? The answer is, he couldn't, and a "socially tolerant" opponent of Kennedy would kick away a golden opportunity.

There is a lesson here far beyond the case of one repellent, though powerful, Senator. We libertarians are trying to mount a mighty ideological counter-revolution against the welfare-warfare state of the twentieth century. The essence of the Progressive, New Deal, left-liberal revolution of that collectivist century was a monstrous assault upon the liberties, the income, and the sensibilities of what the great laissez-faire economist and social scientist William Graham Sumner called the Forgotten Man, the average, hard-working, thrifty, God-fearing, and good-hearted, middle-class and working-class man and woman who has been fleeced, looted, outraged, and trampled upon by organized left-and-center liberalism via its control of the State apparatus, and by controlling our dominant cultural institutions. A key part of that demoralizing statist assault has been upon the American family, and upon the religious values and morals that had given that family its sustenance. Aggressive atheism and hedonism are part and parcel of that assault, and any counter-revolution against statism cannot afford to overlook this extremely important moral and cultural dimension.

A key part of that demoralizing statist assault has been upon the American family.

Consider this: Modals, RLCers, and all other libertarians who have not yet made up your minds on this issue: Suppose that we're right. Suppose that you've got a choice of mounting a successful counter-revolution against the Leviathan State, at the price of giving up the dubious joys of reveling in open Kennedy-type sleaze (and "open" is of course the operative word in this whole dispute, since no one, no matter how socially right-wing, is proposing to batter down closed bedroom doors to spy on what shenanigans may be going on). Would you accept this bargain? And if you wouldn't, and I suspect that this is precisely what all of you "socially tolerant" would *not* do, what does this say about the strength and breadth of your libertarian commitment, of your *bona fides*? For are you, after all, only what Tom Fleming describes in his superb article in the May *Chronicles*:["The New Fusionism," pp.10-12] "lifestyle libertarians"

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looking "for nothing more exalted than a justification for their vices"? Is that what it's all been about, all these years, O generation of vipers? ●

Yugoslavian Breakup

by M.N.R.

Yugoslavia is at the point of civil war, but before anyone starts blubbering about what in the world can have gotten into this "proud nation," be assured that there ain't no such animal. There is no such nation nor is there such a thing as a "Yugoslav people." Yugoslavia is not a nation but a geographical abortion, a monstrosity that ensued from the chaos, the vengeance, and the cabals of World War I and its sorry aftermath. The victorious allies split apart and fractured the defeated Austro-Hungarian Empire. This sundering was performed not in the name of "national self-determination," but in the equality of this process some nations were destined to be far more equal than others. Particularly privileged was Serbia, a nation on Austria-Hungary's southern border, which had set off World War I by contriving to assassinate Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914. Out of the tragedy and ferment of that war, Serbia managed to carve a new Greater Serbia out of parts of the defeated Empire, particularly by suckering the intellectual leaders of the Croats and the Slovenes into adopting a phony and artificial "South Slav" (Yugoslav) ideology and then forming a new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. When the Croats found that this kingdom, instead of a fraternity of "south Slavs," was merely a mechanism for Serb hegemony, they grew restless and began to move for greater Croat freedom. When the Serbs assassinated the great Croat Peasant leader Stefan Radic in 1928, the Croats moved to form a separate Croatia, whereupon the Serb King Alexander established a unitary royal dictatorship and called it "Yugoslavia."

Yugoslavia is not a nation but a geographical abortion.

Another hapless people forcibly incorporated into Yugoslavia were the Macedonians, on the southern border of Serbia, another people seeking restoration of their ancient independence. The results of the crumbling of the Ottoman Empire and of World War I, however, were the carving up of Macedonia among the Greeks and the Serbs. Bulgaria, arrogantly claiming that the Macedonians are only "western Bulgars," was aced out by unfortunately picking the losing side of the last Balkan War and of World War I.

Macedonians forced into Yugoslavia formed the militant revolutionary organization, IMRO (International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), which assassinated the tyrant King Alexander in 1934. After that the Yugoslav Regent Prince Paul, particularly after 1939, moved toward devolution of power toward the nationalities, actually bringing Croat ministers into the Cabinet. Paul also followed a neutral policy in World War II. British intelligence therefore engineered a military *coup* on March 27, 1941, installing a hard-line Serb military dictatorship in Yugoslavia. This pro-British government quickly moved to sign a Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union on April 5.

Mussolini, boobishly trying to revive and expand the Italian Empire, had invaded Greece at the end of October, 1940, but his war of conquest was going badly, and the Greeks were counter-attacking successfully. Hitler was preparing to mobilize the countries of Eastern Europe for his mighty assault against the U.S.S.R., but he was obliged to delay this strike to bail out his Axis partner in Greece. Hitler's offer to mediate the Italy-Greece dispute was rebuffed by a Greece prodded by Great Britain, and so Hitler determined to launch his conquest of Greece before mounting an invasion of Russia. The sudden British coup in Yugoslavia in March 1941 induced Hitler to include that country in his Greek campaign ("Operation Maritsa"), which he began on April 6. The Yugoslav campaign was successfully concluded in eleven days, and Greece was mopped up two weeks later.

Ever indulgent to his unreliable Axis partner, Hitler allowed Italian troops to help invade Croatia, while German forces invaded Serbia. Serbia was, understandably enough, treated as hostile, and subjected to permanent German military occupation, whereas the Germans and Italians treated the Croats as fellow enemies

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of the Serbian Yugoslav regime. Croatia was allowed to form a separate national state, naming the Italian Duke of Spoleto as its king.

The new Croat kingdom was run by Ante Pavelic and his Ustasha movement. Every time any newspaper account speaks of Croat nationalism or Croat-Serb rivalry nowadays, the writer invariably raises the spectre of Croatia's "pro-Nazi" regime. But it should be clear that the Croats were not pro-Nazi; they were, simply, anti-Serb, while neutral in more remote European affairs, and the genesis of this attitude should now be clear. It is true that during the war, the Croat Ustasha killed a lot of Serbs, but so too did Serb forces kill a great many Croats. The feelings were all too mutual.

Because the Croats had their own state during World War II, there was no need for them to engage in partisan activities. The Serbs, on the other hand, were impelled to resist the direct military rule of the Germans. A Serb guerrilla force, the Chetniks, arose under Draza Milhailovic, paying more attention to the killing of Croats than of Germans. A communist partisan force also arose, under Josip Tito. Although a Communist, Tito was able to win out over Milhailovic because Tito, being a Croat, was able to appeal far more strongly to all the non-Serb groups in Yugoslavia. None of them would any longer trust a Serb.

Tito's remarkable shift away from Stalinism and central planning, beginning about 1950, took a decisive turn in the mid-1960s, with the institution of market reforms, and the ousting from office of the Serb Alexander Rankovic, Vice-President and head of the secret police. It became clear that, even among Communist intellectuals and economists, the major drive for freedom and market economy was among the Croats and Slovenes, whereas the Serbs were the most devoted to Communism and central planning. Writing in *Foreign Affairs* in July 1966, the distinguished Croat economist Rudolf Bicanic noted, too, that the Serbs were dominant in central institutions—the army, the secret police, central administration—even during Tito's Yugoslavia, and he postulated that perhaps the Serbs had learned the ways of statism during generations of independent statehood, whereas the Croats and Slovenes, under Austro-Hungarian rule, had never learned bad statist habits. Perhaps. But perhaps, too, one answer lies in the Croat and Slovene devotion to western institutions, including a transnational Catholic Church. In contrast, the Serbs are Eastern Orthodox, and hence are used to a tradition of a State-ruled Church.

Ethnic devolution proceeded side by side with market reform until the early 1970s, when an evident desire for Croat independence drove Marshal Tito into a counter-revolutionary crackdown and a blockage of further ethnic and economic reform.

Tito's death in 1980 led to the current Yugoslavian polity: headed by a rotating collective presidency, consisting of one representative from each of six republics, and of two "autonomous" provinces, of Serbia.

In the current situation, it is, again, no accident that the increasingly independent Croat, Slovene, and Macedonian republics have elected non-Communist regimes, and that Croatia and Slovenia have been pushing for independence, whereas the Serbs, headed by their Communist leader, Slobodan Milosevic, have been strong for both unitary centralism and a communist command economy. At a recent climactic vote, Milosevic tried to stampede the eight-man presidency into a central troop crackdown on breakaway Croatia. He was voted down by 5 to 3, and the regional votes are instructive. Voting for the crack-down were Serbia, Montenegro, and Serbia's autonomous province of Voivodina. Voivodina, a northern Serb province acquired from Hungary, has only about 10 percent Hungarians; the rest are Serbs.

That leaves Montenegro, like the Serbs ruled by a one-party Communist regime. Does the stand of Montenegro vitiate our analysis of Serb hegemony? No, because there are no such people as "Montenegrins." Montenegro ("Black Mountain") is simply Western Serbia, and is the mountainous area where Serbs were able to hole up indefinitely and maintain their independence from the Ottoman Empire. Because of this history, Montenegro was also an independent kingdom outside Austria-Hungary and the Ottomans, but it is ethnically simply Serb.

On the other hand, the five presidents voting against the Serb-Milosevic grab for power hailed from Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the southern Serbian autono-

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mous province of Kosovo. Bosnia-Herzegovina is a mixed region, consisting of Serbs, Croats, and a plurality of Bosnian Muslims, who became Muslims under the Ottoman Empire. Kosovo, which has been much in the news lately, is 90 percent ethnic Albanian, and is trying to get out from under Serb rule and achieve republic status. The stubborn Serb attempt to keep an iron grip on Kosovo is grounded in history: in the fact that centuries ago, Kosovo was the very heartland of the Serbs.

Why not allow each of these nationalities to go free, to recognize each others' independence, and then hope for peaceful relations and a free-trade zone among the nationalities of what used to be called Yugoslavia? That would surely be the libertarian aspiration. The major stumbling block is Serb imperialism and statism, although in all fairness a welcome sign was the recent mass demonstrations in Belgrade (capital of Serbia) against Milosevic/Communist rule. But, in addition, those of us who consider ourselves Croats-in-spirit have to acknowledge the beam in our own eye. For just as Serbs call Croats "traitors to Yugoslavia" and threaten to send in the national army (the officer corps are two-thirds Serb), so does the new, national anti-Communist Croat republic consider the Serbs living in Serb areas in southern Croatia "traitors" to Croatia. If each nationality is to be independent, these Serbs, rather than live under Croat rule, have proclaimed themselves citizens of the new republic of Krajina, in the southern border regions of Croatia. Well, why not? And if they wish, why shouldn't the Krajinans be able to merge with their brethren in Serbia proper?

Even if there is peace and a free trade zone, it is important to ground them upon firm recognition of independence for each of these nationalities. And if this should mean, after the anti-Communist revolution in Albania proceeds further, that the Kosovo Albanians wish to merge with their brethren in Albania proper, why shouldn't they? And perhaps even the Macedonians will be able to find their place in the sun once more. Watch out, Greece! Border rectification is the need of the hour, and all we need ask is that the United States no longer stand in the way, prating about a New World Order grounded on a so-called "territorial integrity" that exists only in the minds of fantasts like Woodrow Wilson and his plague of successors.

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As we went to press, the dire predictions of the article seemed about to come true: Yugoslavia stood on the brink of civil war. Every May 15 since Tito's death in 1980, the chief president of the collective presidency has rotated automatically in order. In 1990, the hardline Serb Communist and centralizer, Borisav Jovic, ally of Milosevic, came to power. This May 15, the rotation was supposed to fall to the Croat Stipe Mesic. But instead, in an unprecedented power play, Jovic mobilized the Serbs on the eight-man presidency to block Mesic's accession to the office. *Any* move by the presidency requires five votes, and the rotation to Mesic could only gain four. The Serbs had been able to gain the vote of its Kosovo province by unilaterally abrogating autonomous status for Kosovo and Voivodina, and bringing them both to heel as mere internal sections of Serbia. In that way, the Serbs (including Montengro), can now command four out of the eight-republic votes on the ruling body. As of this writing, no one is president, and no one commands the "Yugoslav" army.

Is "Yugoslavia," at long last, going to be tossed onto the ashheap of history? Will the Croats and Slovenes finally acheive their independence? Is yet another Balkan bloodbath about to begin?

LP Convention Follies

by Joe Melton

It is typical of the pack of losers who constitute the Libertarian Party that the theme they selected for their 20th Anniversary Convention at Chicago this summer—which may well be their last—is "Liberty Triumphant." To call Liberty triumphant is—at the very least—premature; to say that *those* jokers are triumphant is a species of megalomania that could well fit them for the loony bin. According to an elaborate formula of allotting delegates, the Party has decreed 537 total delegate slots; for observers of social pathology, it will be interesting to see how many of these guys actually show up.

Dave Nolan, Keynoter

It is all too fitting that the keynoter selected for this anniversary convention is none other than the LP's Beloved Founder, David Nolan. Not exactly an "outreach" speaker, Dave is unknown to the world at large; and that is as

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it should be, since Dave Nolan, like the LP, is the quintessential loser. For Dave, a boomer and pompous blowhard, is one of those Modals who *looks* like a real person but short acquaintance will reveal that appearances are deceiving. The key, of course, is a life-career that winds around and goes precisely nowhere. When Dave, his then wife, and a small handful of others founded the LP in his Denver livingroom, Dave was widely touted as the movement's cracker-jack ad man, an Easterner who had moved to boomtown Denver to acquire fame and fortune.

As the national party began to realize they were out of money, they reluctantly concluded they couldn't afford Dave's strategic vision any more.

Since then, Dave's career has squirreled through various aspects of oblivion. Failing as an ad man, Dave, to great fanfare, opened up a computerized hi-tech dating service, presumably advancing the envelope of "living liberty." When *that* flopped, Dave made several unsatisfactory transcontinental moves, to Atlanta, and then finally—like most other Modals—winding up, where else? in the L.A. area.

Nolan's latest and most crackpotty scheme, trumpeted widely before the 1989 convention, was for libertarians to send him money, so that he (we?) could buy a TV network. (Yes, you read that correctly!) Well, even libertarians aren't *that* dumb—or, more likely, they barely have the money to buy a TV *set* much less a network, so Dave, shucks! didn't get a chance to buy NBC. However, on the strength of his strategic vision and his enormous moral stature as The Founder, Dave was taken on by the current national LP power elite as head of a TV advertising committee, to make video ads and put them on television. But, by the end of last year, as the national party began to realize they were out of money, they reluctantly concluded that they couldn't afford Dave's strategic vision any more.

I shouldn't overlook Dave's great contribution to libertarian theory, a contribution that continues to plague the libertarian movement. Trying to eliminate the tired and misleading left-right continuum in American politics, Dave decided on a two-dimensional grid, with "personal liberty" on one axis, and "economic liberty" on the other. Liberals were allegedly good on the former and bad on the latter, and conservatives *vice versa*, which put libertarians, as the apex of all truth and virtue, in the upper right hand corner. Bad guys opposed to both, such as Pol Pot and Hitler, were ensconced down on the opposite lower-left corner.

Pushing for immortality for his deathless contribution to political thought, Nolan put on a campaign for years for the LP to adopt as its logo, an arrow going upward and to the right: Nolan and his buddies had lapel buttons made up sporting the arrow, but saner heads observed that the arrow looked, to the average observer, *either* like some sort of fourth-sex chromosome symbol, and/or like some *very* extreme right-wing movement in Central or Eastern Europe during the 1930s. Finally, relatively sober LP forces, led, I believe, by Bill Evers, managed to outflank the kooky arrow and got the Statute of Liberty adopted as an LP logo—a bit stodgy, perhaps, but at least recognizable to the American voter.

Looking back, of course, it is too bad that people like Evers were and still are around in the LP to save it from its true instincts.

But Dave Nolan was not to be denied. If his arrow was broken, his chart, the theoretical basis for the arrow, moved on to achieve fame of sorts, if not fortune. Marshall Fritz, a boomer who makes Nolan seem like a retiring Casper Milquetoast, adopted mini-versions of the Nolan Chart, accompanied by a mini-quiz, as the reading material for his Advocates for Self-Government. And so the chart, and the good guys in the upper-right hand corner, is alas still very much with us.

What's wrong with the Nolan Chart? Plenty. In the first place, it leaves out foreign policy, an omission that of course precisely reflects the Modals' total lack of interest in, or knowledge of, foreign affairs. Modals know two things: they don't like outside interference

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in their often bizarre lifestyle, and they don't like paying taxes or obeying outside regulations. From that hedonic and narcissistic base, where do foreign affairs fit in, even as a topic of concern, much less to hammer out a coherent policy? A second point is that the only virtue of the left-right continuum is its simplicity. If you add a *third* axis, and construct a three-dimensional chart to include foreign policy, you are off on Cloud Nine and you have lost the quick "outreach" audience appeal which is the point of a line or a chart in the first place. And third, of course, important nuances, such as paleo-con versus neocon, get lost altogether.

What happens when you take the Nolan Chart seriously, as Modals have been doing, is summed up in some jackass' letter in a recent issue of a particularly kooky libertarian periodical, *The Pragmatist*. This guy denounced the increasing "right-wing" trend among libertarians (guess who?) and said, in effect, how can this be, since we know from the Nolan Chart that libertarians are "halfway" between liberals and conservatives. Yeh, sure, buddy, just go back and twiddle your chart.

The Presidential Race

The presidential "race" between the incredibly Beloved Andre Marrou and Dick Boddie, is one of the great yawners of our epoch. Both, who again only seem like real people for the first half-hour, are losers of almost epochal dimensions. Neither seems to be able to keep a job of any sort, hence their wildly varied careers which seem to leave, as the only way out, what else, running for President. It's reminiscent of Senator McGovern, who can find nothing else to do when his hotel goes bankrupt. The difference, of course, is that McGovern was once a U.S. senator, and was once nominated for president on the ticket of a real, if unfortunate, political party.

The race is a big bore even for dedicated LPers. Marrou will probably win by default, even though he cuts a laughable figure on the one issue between them: whether or not the LP should accept matching campaign funds from the federal government. Boddie takes the "purist" position that accepting such funds would be immoral, whereas Marrou takes the "pragmatic" stance that the LP should get real and allow the State to finance its own downfall. The practical problem with Marrou's stance is, that despite his propaganda, there is no realistic way that his campaign can qualify for matching funds. If your big campaign issue is to be practical and accept federal funds, you should at least make darn sure that you'll get the money. But no sir, not among libertarians.

Marrou launched his campaign with a loud trumpet call announcing that he is sure to get matching funds, a mailing filled with such gross error that the Marrou campaign had to confess their mistake, for which Marrou's smarmy Svengali, Michael Emerling, took "full responsibility." No, no, not in the old-fashioned sense of walking the plank; it now means "taking responsibility" in an abstract, hot-air sense, with no punishment being entailed. Don't worry. Mike is still very much there.

The current problem is this. The general LP myth is that all Marrou needs to qualify for federal matching funds is to raise and spend $100,000 between January 1, 1991 and the day of his nomination (Labor Day weekend.) Not true, however. What Marrou needs to qualify is at least $5,000 from each of 20 states; moreover, the only funds counting toward that minimum are the first $250 contributed by each individual. The reason why 20 times $5000 is not necessarily $100,000 is that most LP contributors are concentrated in a very few states (*e.g.*, California). So how is Marrou going to get funds in those lower-ranked states? Also, large contributors won't be able to make up the difference, because of the $250 maximum given each individual to qualify. Best estimate by knowledgeable observers is that Andre would have to raise over $400,000 in this time period in order to qualify. How has he done so far? Between January 1 and March 31, Marrou's funds raised totaled only $56,000. That means that from April through August, Marrou's monthly fund-raising rate will have to quadruple—highly unlikely considering the steady slippage of support for the LP, and the lack of interest in the race even among its own dedicated members. And so, it's bye-bye matching funds, and soon thereafter, bye-bye LP. And it couldn't have happened to a more deserving bunch of guys.

The Contractors

Recently national LP conventions have been run, not by the national party, but by contract with local libertarians who put together a private, entrepreneurial, tax-exempt (and therefore "non-political") outfit to run the convention. How can a political convention be run by a non-political outfit? Go ask them. This year's lucky group in Illinois is called L.E.I., Ltd., headed

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by Sue Walton. Sue's March 18 report to the quarterly meeting of the LP's National Committee contains a few interesting oddities.

First oddity: Sue wrote in January to all the state "chairs" (that's chair*men* and chair*women*, *not*—or at least one would hope—pieces of furniture) about Liberty Triumphant and asking when and where their state conventions will be during the year. She complains piteously that the "state Chairs do/did not seem to want to respond to my request." Why? Because "they did not know what Liberty Triumphant is." (Not an auspicious start!)

Several LPers, driven frantic by the handwriting on the wall, have been trying desperately to find a Third Force.

Second, Sue notes that the IRS had been auditing LEI's books and had not yet written or passed on "the auditor's official written report." Sue hastens to assure NatCom that this was only a "routine audit" about the non-political 501c3 status of LEI, and that "unofficially, we passed with flying colors." Well, maybe, but if I were Sue—or the NatCom—I wouldn't break out the champagne quite that quickly. There is often many a slip between "unofficial flying colors" from a "routine audit" and actually getting out from under.

A third oddity: it turns out that Don Ernsberger, First Friend of National Chair (furniture?) Dave Walter, had asked LEI for a free hotel room plus a free full convention package. Ernsberger approached LEI with this nervy request as "compensation" for helping LEI get C-Span coverage for the coming convention. Since C-Span covered the last, non-presidential convention in Philadelphia, it should have been clear to even the dimmest Libertarian that they will cover the LP again this year, and for Don to ask for "compensation" for this event is equivalent to asking for compensation for the fact that the sun will also rise that morning. Since Don, as co-owner (along with Dave Walter) of the private outfit that ran the 1989 Philadelphia convention, had granted three LEI Board members a free hotel room for five nights out of the goodness of his heart, Walton writes to NatCom that LEI is willing to give Ernsberger the free full convention package, but would like the LP NatCom to chip in and pay Don's hotel room for the five nights, which would amount to $500.18 plus tax.

Good old Don; obviously nothing is too good for this Assistant Chairman, ex-YAFer and co-leader (along with Dave Walter) of the now defunct Society for Individual Liberty (merged into Vince Miller's International Society for Individual Liberty). But why is Sue so exercised about this problem that she puts this request in capital letters: "LEI WOULD FORMALLY LIKE TO REQUEST THAT LNC AGREE TO PAY FOR DON'S HOTEL ROOM. LEI REQUEST THAT WE BE NOTIFIED IN WRITING OF THIS."

Will good old Don get his free hotel room? Who will kick in the tab? Tune in later for the rest of this soap opera. In the meantime, we can all ponder Sue's courage. She notes that "LEI is a 501c3 corporation and cannot directly be involved in politics." Yes, indeed. But she then adds that "The [LEI] board feels that television coverage [by C-Span] is direct [political] involvement." So why are Sue and the Board therefore willing to pay Don for "compensation" for obtaining C-Span coverage? Because, she concludes, "we also owe Don something for his curtesy[sic] in 1989." Such is the way the world, or at least the LP, works.

A Third Force?

Several LPers, driven frantic by the handwriting on the wall, have been trying desperately to find a Third Force, to get some Outside Biggie to save the party by running for President on the LP ticket. Bill Bradford and Bill Evers have been conspicuous in this effort. Sure. They'll be as successful as was the U.S. in trying to scrounge around and find "Third Force Moderates" in the old days in Vietnam. Let's face it, guys: you have here what the Marxists would call an Inner Contradiction. If someone is smart enough to be an Outside Biggie, why in the name of all that is holy would he spend ten minutes, much less over a year of his life, with *this* bunch! ●

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Finally, Sensible Vaticanomics

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

For a century, the Vatican has issued a dreary stream of left-liberal economic pronouncements, but no more. John Paul II's new encyclical, *Centesimus Annus*, is an explicit defense of free markets.

The occasion for the encyclical is the 100th anniversary of Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*. Ever since the age of St. Thomas Aquinas, the best Catholic scholars had endorsed free markets, and even *laissez-faire*, as moral and just.

In 1891, however, Leo XIII adopted the then-fashionable Marxist framework. He divided mankind into two classes, the exploiters and the exploited, coming close to identifying them with capital and labor. He accepted the socialist libel of the industrial revolution, and fretted about the "alienation" of the working class.

Although *Centesimus Annus* makes a polite bow to precedent, it effectively repudiates such nonsense.

Agreeing with the Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises, the pope calls socialism wrong not only because it violates human nature, "which is made for freedom," but because it is "impossible." Under socialism, life becomes "progressively disorganized and goes into decline." If "self-interest is violently suppressed, it is replaced by a burdensome system of bureaucratic control which dries up the well-springs of initiative and creativity."

Private property is essential, and not only in land. There must also be private "possession of know-how, technology and skill. The wealth of the industrialized nations is based much more on this kind of ownership than on natural resources."

Unlike his liberal predecessors, the pope also understands the division of labor, pointing out that "goods cannot be adequately produced through the work of isolated individuals; they require the cooperation of many people in working towards a common goal." This process, he adds, can only be coordinated through "initiative and entrepreneurial ability."

Man does not live by bread alone, but in the realm of economics, "*the free market* is the most efficient instrument for utilizing resources and effectively responding to needs." (His emphasis.)

The pope, unlike so-called liberation theologians, also understands the vital role of profit, which indicates that "a business is functioning well. When a firm makes a profit, this means that productive factors have been properly employed and corresponding human needs have been duly satisfied." Almost alone among contemporary religious leaders, he recognizes that markets satisfy individual and community interests, and profits are a measure of that satisfaction.

The pope even criticizes the welfare state, whose "malfunctions and defects" are "the result of an inadequate understanding" of the proper tasks of government.

The welfare state "leads to a loss of human energies and an inordinate increase of public agencies, which are dominated more by bureaucratic ways of thinking" than concern for service, accompanied, of course, by "an enormous increase in spending."

Instead, he invokes the ancient Catholic principle of subsidiarity: "a community of a higher order should not interfere in a community of a lower order." The rank of Christian precedence runs thusly: the individual, the family, other voluntary institutions, society itself, and only then the state. Economic decisions properly made by individuals, families, or companies, for example, are no business of government's.

The pope even stresses the importance of a "stable currency," repudiating the Keynesian fixation on managing the economy through inflation. And the problem with the third world is not capitalist exploitation, but the lack of free markets. Poor countries are kept poor by state-created "barriers of monopolies" and restrictions on trade.

Summing up his encyclical, the pope asks whether, "after the failure of Communism" we can say that "capitalism is the victorious social system," and that it should be the model for all countries, including the third world?

His answer is an emphatic Yes. All nations need "an economic system which recognizes the fundamental and positive role of business, the market, private property and the resulting responsibility for the means of production, as well as free human creativity in the economic sector."

A few years back, the American Catholic bishops, most of whom make the Harvard economics department look right-wing, virtually endorsed the moral and economic evil of socialism.

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Every Catholic who has suffered through sermons that could pass for Marxism 101 must hope, and pray, that John Paul II's *Centesimus Annus* will begin to set the bishops straight.

Note: Libertarians and conservatives know the federal government's National Public Radio as National People's Radio, and no wonder. We have only to look at NPR's perversion of *Centesimus Annus*.

The day after the encyclical was issued, their gloriously-voiced but ideologically-crabbed Rome correspondent, Sylvia Poggiolli, announced that, according to the pope, the failure of socialism is no "one-sided victory for capitalism."

The pope agreed with "Karl Marx," she said, that "alienation, the exploitation of workers, and the estrangement of the poor and the weak" are endemic to "Western societies."

According to Poggiolli, the encyclical denounces "the practical materialism of market economies, their unbridled search for profit, consumerism, and selfishness without solidarity. The pope says it is not possible to understand man on the basis of economics alone. And he calls for state intervention to regulate market economies through a strong legal system that also takes into consideration the ethical and religious needs of the human being."

Not once did Poggiolli allude to the pope's real message.

What Poggiolli calls "state intervention," the pope calls the "rule of law," essential to a free economy. And she twists the pope's condemnation of vice under capitalism into a criticism of capitalism itself.

The pope did say that man can't be understood on the basis of economics alone, but who, aside from marxists or some of my fellow libertarians, ever thought he could? The pope simply reminds us that the free market is not enough. We must also have the decent social structures that religion builds.

The pope praises the privatization efforts now underway in Eastern Europe, but cautions against the importation of Western immoralism along with economic freedom. Here is how Poggiolli reported it: "The encyclical reflects the Pope's concern that what he calls the viruses of Western capitalism now threaten to contaminate the lands of eastern Europe."

Centesimus Annus is an historic call for free markets, but you'd never know it from the NPR's Sylvia Poggiolli. She cheats her listeners of the truth. ●

The Deaf and the Blind

by The Old Curmudgeon

One virtue that you *don't* go to the good grey *New York Times* for is high humor. Except, of course, when that humor is unwitting. Some of that commodity is supplied by Karen De Witt, in "How Best to Teach the Blind" (May 12). It seems that there is a severe internecine struggle going on among both the blind and the non-blind over how to teach the blind. One probelm is that, for a leading journalist, Ms. De Witt seems to have great difficulty in finding the right words. There are battles, for example, between the "visually handicapped" or "visually impaired" versus the "non-visually handicapped." Look, how about using some plain English for a change, and say "blind" and "seeing" or even God forbid, "normal?"

It turns out that Braille, formerly learned by about half the blind, is now known by only a small percentage of blind people. One blind engineer went to gradulate school and found that he could no longer make do with tapes and various voice-activated machines—that for graduate work you had to be able to read. It turns out that some of the "illiteracy" we've been hearing about has been deliberately fostered by those who teach the blind. As a result of this shift away from Braille in the last forty years, only about 12 percent of the blind can now read.

Among pro-blind groups, the normal tend to be anti-Braille and the blind, or "militant blind," are very much in favor of it. The arguments grow curiouser and curiouser. One argument of the anti-Braille forces is that Braille "discriminates" against the mentally retarded and the "tactile impaired" who couldn't touch the letters. One would think that the blind would know better abou t their own education, but both sides have the distressing tendency to employ coercion. Thus, the militant blind are trying to get state governments to force all the blind to read Braille, and five state legislatures have already succumbed to this new horror. The compulsory Braille forces maintain that parents are preventing their blind kids from learning Braille, because, says

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blind Kansas State Representative Dick Edlung, "A lot of [parents] have it in their heads that if the kid just tried harder, he'd be able to see." Weird; are there really parents like that, or is this just a desperate argument by coercive Braillites? On the other hand, the anti-Braille forces claim that where Braille has been compulsory at schools for the blind, the kids are forced to wear aprons to cover the Braille on their desks because they could see the dots; apparently, that makes them fake Braille readers, a big no-no.

Look, if the kids can see the dots, what are they doing in schools for the blind in the first place? Surely, seeing the dots should not be some sort of stigma.

Have we wandered into a loony bin, or am I missing something here? For those who wish to keep the players straight, there are three big pro-blind groups: the American Foundation for the Blind, run by the seeing and anti-Braille; the militant blind National Federation of the Blind, which is pro-compulsory Braille; and a mixed-group of blind and seeing, the American Council of the Blind, which is also anti-Braille.

In the meantime, over in the other ballpark, the deaf are having their own struggles. Here there are three camps, two struggles. One is between lip-reading, allegedly imposed on the deaf by the normal (hearinged?), as against the militant deaf, who want to express themselves in their own indigenous, organic, beautifully expressive sign language (or so I am told by my least favorite neurologist, Dr. Oliver Sacks.) But *within* the signing movement, there are two camps, the rational (or "sellout") deaf, who want to sign in *English*, a language which they already know and read; and the still more beautiful, expressive, etc. organic Sign Language—allegedly infinitely better and richer than (Ugh!) English, a language imposed on the deaf by dead white heterosexual males. And on and on.

Do you get the impression that these poor handicapped, whether deaf or blind, are having their lives made infinitely more miserable by all these blankety-blank social worker, whether militant or not who are Pushing Them Around? - **M.N.R.**

Errata

It has been called to my attention by Dr. John Howard, founder of the Rockford Institute, that details of my report about R.J. Neuhaus in the March issue were inaccurate. For one thing, Neuhaus was brought to the Institute not as a link to philanthropies, but as a social theologian whom Dr. Howard mistook for an incipient conservative. Second, it was John Howard who provided Neuhaus with the entree into conservative foundations. Having worked patiently since the mid-seventies in building such connections, Howard shared his contacts with longtime leftist Neuhaus, by now repackaged as a conservative. John Howard is a man whose integrity has never been challenged, not even by neocons; and seeing that his account squares with my own memories while still a professor at Rockford College, I gratefully accept his corrections.

His comments about what transpired between Neuhaus and the Institute shift the blame firmly on to the object of an undeserved friendship. Neuhaus not only dared to attack his employers but shanghaied their funding sources in anticipation of his departure. In view of such conduct, having him thrown out onto the street, as he accused the Rockford Institute of doing, may have been excessively gentle. ——Paul Gottfried.

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We erred in describing Paul's "Scrambling for Funds" as an excerpt from his forthcoming book with Thomas Fleming. The article, with additional material on neoconservatives as well as neocon-funded libertarians, is actually being published in yet another book of Paul's.

——The Editors

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